

Mateusz URBAN
Jagiellonian University in Kraków

EUROPEAN ‘CASSOCK’, TKC. *ḲAZAḲ* AND PER. *KAZAĠAND*. RELATIVE CHRONOLOGIES AND POSSIBLE LINKS¹

The present article discusses three hypotheses that have been suggested to explain the etymological background of the English word *cassock* and its Romance sources, It. *casacca* and Fr. *casaque*, interpreting them alternatively (a) as a diminutive of Lat. *casa*; (b) as ultimately related to the word for ‘Cossack’ (≠ Tkc. *ḳazaḳ* ‘vagabond’), with the alleged semantic change ‘Cossack’ > ‘a kind of garment worn by Cossacks’; or (c) as a distortion of (or a back-formation from) MFr. *gasygan*, itself borrowed from Persian. The collected material allows to conclude that the three hypotheses do not provide an adequate explanation of the origin of the word. A modified variant of the third proposal is suggested in section 6.

etymology, names of clothes, language contact, cultural borrowing

1. Introduction

Although the problem is not new, the origin of Eng. *cassock*, its Romance sources, It. *casacca* and Fr. *casaque* and other related European forms is far from settled.

1 I would like to thank Adam Kubik (Siedlce) for his help obtaining Melikian-Chirvani’s (1983) article. Furthermore, my gratitude goes to Professor John R. Perry (Chicago)

A comparison of the conflicting etymological solutions provided by modern dictionaries seems to confirm this despite the generally laconic and dogmatic nature of the authors' wording. The following article, whose topic should not be a surprise to the Dedicatee, aims to collect evidence scattered in various publications with a view to updating the data on the earliest documentation of the relevant lexical items. On this basis I will attempt to assess the merits of the three hypotheses and identify their flaws.²

In order to achieve maximum comparability between the forms cited, the following romanization systems are used throughout (unless otherwise stated): (a) Persian – *Encyclopædia Iranica Online*;³ (b) Arabic – Wehr (1994); (c) Ottoman – RTOİS. The following modifications are introduced:

- in all cases the letter چ is romanized as ğ;
- in all cases the letter ج is romanized as k;
- the Ott. letter غ is romanized as ġ (in accordance with the romanization used for Persian and Arabic).

2. The received wisdom

The word under discussion is nowadays used in English especially with reference to a long close-fitting garment worn by priests under a surplice (a 17th-century development according to the OED), but the two oldest meanings, which are also attested in the earliest records of other European languages are (a) 'a cloak or long coat worn by soldiers' and (b) 'a kind of long loose coat or gown (worn by both sexes)'.

It is generally assumed that the source of the word in Europe was one or both of the following Romance forms:

- (1) (a) Fr. *casaque* 1. 'a kind of garment'; 2. 'a coat worn by soldiers';
 (b) It. *casacca* 1. 'a kind of coat worn by soldiers'; 2. 'an honorific garment'.

for generously sharing his expertise in Iranian linguistics with me and offering in-depth answers to my queries via e-mail. It goes without saying that any errors and misinterpretations are my own responsibility.

- 2 The present article is a thorough revision of a paper I delivered at my first international conference, which I attended in the wonderful company of my then thesis supervisor, Professor Marek Stachowski. It is Him that I owe my introduction to the methodology of rigorous etymological research.
- 3 URL: www.iranicaonline.org/pages/guidelines; accessed February 8, 2017.

As far as I can see, three hypotheses have been suggested in connection to the earlier history of the Romance forms. The OED₁ offers a (rather inconclusive) summary of these, which we will take as our point of departure:⁴

- (2) (a) It. *casacca* 'cassock, dwelling' (the latter meaning in Florio 1598, cf. below) < Lat. *casa* 'house' (cf. the development 'piece of clothing' < 'house' in Fr. *chasuble* < MLat. *casubla* < *casula* ← dim. of *casa*);
- (b) Fr. *casaque* < *Cosaque* 'Cossack', whence the military sense of *cassock*;
- (c) Fr. *casaque*, back formation from *casaquin* (reanalyzed as a diminutive); Fr. *casquin*, It. *casachino*, corruption of Ar. كزاعند *kazāḡand* < Per. کزاعند *kazāḡand*⁵ 'a padded jerkin or acton' ← کاژ *kaž* = کاڭ *kaḡ* 'raw silk, silk floss' + اڭند *āḡand* 'stuffed'; the word *kasagān* actually occurs in Middle High German as 'riding-cloak', and *gasygan* in Old French as 'padded jerkin or vest', but the relation of these to *casquin* and *casaque* has yet to be settled.

In the following sections, we will take a more detailed look at each of these proposals and try to identify their merits and problems they pose.

3. The Italian diminutive hypothesis

This idea goes back at least to Diez (1853); other supporters include Webster (1865), Müller (1865), Wedgwood (1872), Skeat (1910) and Webster (1934). Later authors typically ignore Diez's proposal without a comment. Cortelazzo (1957: 36, n. 4) is a commendable exception in that he offers arguments in favour of rejection. He asserts first that in Italian *-acca* is quite unusual as a suffix (also see DCECH s.v. *casaca*), and argues further that the semantic analogy of something that encloses a person that allegedly relates 'garment' to 'house' is less convincing in the case of *casacca* than with *casubla*, where the metaphor relies on the presence of a hood. According to Cortelazzo, glosses of the kind found in Florio (1598 s.v. *casacca*) and alluded to in the OED₁, i.e. 'an habitation or dwelling', may in fact invoke a legal term of Hebrew origin, i.e. Ven. *casaca* 'diritto di abitazione'.⁶

4 The romanization has been adapted. Otherwise I follow the OED₁'s formulations as closely as possible.

5 Here I correct the obviously erroneous spellings Ar. كزاعند and Per. کزاعند.

6 Urbani, Zazzu (1999: CLXXXIII; emphasis original) give a more precise definition of this concept according to which "a house owned by a gentile and rented to a Jew who had a *hazakah* on it might be sold to another Jew by permission of the head of the

Cortelazzo does not specify his objections regarding the alleged suffixhood of *-acca*. Rohlfs (1969: §1048) in his discussion of the Italian suffixes *-acco*, *-ecco*, *-icco*, *-occo*, *-ucco*, provides a few regional examples of the feminine variant of the first of these, such as Piedmontese *lusignaca* 'little nightingale' (cf. the standard *usignoletto* 'id.' ← *usignolo* 'nightingale'), Sicilian *muracca* 'low wall' (← *mur* 'wall'; also cf. Lombard *müraca*), Sicilian *puracca* 'asphodel' (← *porro* 'leek'), Lombard *verdaca* 'treefrog' (← *verda* f.sg. 'green'), *bolaca* (along with *bola*) 'pond', Milanese *tiraca* 'tough meat', alongside proper names such as *Petracca* and *Jermacca* to be found in medieval documents from the region of Puglia.⁷ As for the nature of such formations, Rohlfs is rather circumspect in his discussion, but he rejects Latin as the source and tentatively points to a possible Celtic origin. What is more relevant for the present discussion, he comments that Italian examples are rare and often problematic and their function is difficult to determine, although diminutive seems to be a good candidate in the majority of cases (*lusignaca* and *muracca* ~ *müraca* being the most obvious examples above).

Assuming that this last point is correct, a formation such as *casacca* 'little house' < *casa* 'house' + *-acca*, dim. is not entirely implausible. The alleged shift 'little house' > 'piece of garment' would have an almost perfect parallel in Lat. *casa* 'house' + *-ula*, dim. > *casula* 'cottage' > 'piece of garment (with a hood)' and whether one accepts or rejects Cortelazzo's semantic objections is ultimately a matter of personal taste.⁸ In any case, given the dubious etymological/morphological status of *-acca*, it is worth considering the other two proposals.⁹

Bet Din". The substitution Heb. [h] > It. [k] is perfectly regular (for other examples, see Rocchi 2011: 126).

- 7 The variant *-aca* in Piedmontese and Lombard (including Milanese) is a regular result of degemination north of the La Spezia–Rimini line (Gianelli, Cravens 1997: 32).
- 8 One might also mention Pol. *podomka* 'housecoat; dressing gown', although this word is derived from the phrase *po domu* 'inside the house', so that *podomka* is lit. 'gown worn inside the house'. While the glosses to some of the earliest European (i.e. French, Occitan, Italian, English) examples suggest that the garment was 'loose' – a feature shared with *podomka* – there is no indication that *casaque*, *casacca* or *cassock* have ever specifically denoted clothes worn in the house, which would be necessary to provide a link with *casa*.
- 9 While It. *-acca* is problematic, the Fr. sequence *-aque* (= Lat. *-acus* < Gr. *-ακός*) found in words such as *cardiaque*, *insomniaque* or *maniaque* is entirely irrelevant to our topic, as its function is primarily adjectival and it begins to appear later.

4. The Turkic hypothesis

4.1. Tkc. *қазақ*

The suggestion whereby *casaque* ‘cassock’ is somehow related to *Cosaque* ‘Cossack’ has actually the longest pedigree. An early version appears in Ménage (1650; attributed to François Guyet), more modern supporters include Weekley (1921), Onions (1966), Cannon (2001), TLFi, DELI, DCECH; Kluge (2002) calls it controversial.

A more detailed and updated version could be the following: It. *casacca*, Fr. *casaque* ‘a kind of garment (allegedly) worn by Cossacks’ < Tkc. *қазақ* ‘vagabond, freebooter’ (> It. *Cosacco*, Fr. *Cosaque*). The form of the etymon “*kuzzāk*”, as first suggested by Yule (1886) and then copied by other authors (“*quzāq*” in Webster 1934, and “*quzzāq*” in Onions 1966, the OED^{1–3}, TLFi, etc.) is rightly rejected as incorrect by K. Stachowski (2004: 127, n. 3) and attributed to a misreading of Arabic script. The actual form is Tkc. *қазақ* ‘ein freier, unabhängiger Mensch, Abenteurer, Vagabund’ (Radloff 1899: col. 364; repeated in VEWT: 243; not in ЁСТJa). While its etymology is not without problems, the word is widely attested in Turkic, the earliest records dating back at least to the mid 14th century (Lee 2015: 21–22, n. 1, on the reliability of the earliest occurrences see the next section; for data see Appendix B), and with the growing significance of the institution of Cossackdom in European battlefields it found its way into all major languages of Western Europe. On its way there it must have passed through Polish and/or Ukrainian (< Russian < Turkic), which is not only justified historically, but also indicated by the inverse spelling -o- corresponding to the reduced pretonic vowel of the Russian form (Stachowski K. 2004). For an overview of earlier, folk-etymological explanations of the origin of Ukr. *козак* (i.e. those that do not derive it from Turkic), see Hrushevsky (1999: 52ff). For critical summaries of various etymologies of Tkc. *қазақ*, see Doerfer (TMEN 3: 462ff) and more recently, Lee (2015: 21ff).

4.2. Tkc. *қазақ* and its European reflexes vs. Fr. *casaque* / It. *casacca*: comparison of early evidence

Brüch’s (1944: 146) assertion that It. *casacca* (whence Fr. *casaque*) goes back to Ru. *казаки* ‘Kosakenrock’ from *казак* ‘Cossack’ (or any claim to that effect) is irreconcilable with the chronology of attestation. Ru. *казаки* is first recorded in the 18th century (*казаке* 1755, *казаки* 1767, *козаки* 1792, SRJa XVIII s.v. *казаки*), and is clearly a borrowing from Fr. *casquin*. In fact, any reference to a ‘cassock’

as a 'Cossack robe' which postdates the 15th century might as well reflect folk etymology and is insufficient as evidence of an actual link.

This example shows that in order to establish the relationship (or lack thereof) between the two words, it is necessary to consider the earliest records, which, as it turns out, are highly unreliable, especially as far as Tkç. *ķazak* and its European reflexes are concerned (for a more detailed chronology and references see Appendix B).

The Codex Comanicus is frequently quoted as featuring one of the earliest occurrences of Tkç. *ķazak* (e.g. Pritsak 2006: 238). Its first part contains a phrase spelled <ghasal Cofac>, said to correspond to MLat. <guayta> (cf. MLat. *guaita* 'guard') = Per. <naobat> (= *nauba(t)* 'guard'). However, the identification of the second word with Tkç. *ķazak* is not uncontroversial. While Pritsak (2006: 241, n. 4) rejects Doerfer's (TMEN 3: 467) reservations as to the roundedness of the first vowel of <Cofac>, citing a sporadic phonetic change, he openly admits that the identity of <ghasal> is a mystery (Pritsak 2006: 239).

An alternative solution (advanced by Drimba 1966: 486–487; also in Drimba 2000: 221 with an updated overview of earlier interpretations), which directly addresses this issue, relies on the identification of <Cofac> with the Tkç. root *koř* 'Verse machen, Worte in gebundener Rede künstlich zusammenfügen' (Radloff 1899: col. 637; also ĚSTJa: 95) and translates *ķasal kořak* as 'a singer of ghazals (in front of the palace of the king or a prince)', whence 'a kind of guard of the palace'.

From the formal point of view Drimba's proposal seems to be sound. The question to be solved here is whether Kipč. *kořak* could have been transcribed as <Cofac> by the compilers of the first part of the Codex, i.e. the Genoese, and the main issue is the use of the letter <ř> in the Codex, which is subject to some variation. Limiting our discussion to intervocalic context, there are clear instances of the letter being used to represent [s] (also written as <s>), e.g. Kipč. <Cafap> *ķasap* 'butcher' (= MLat. <Maçelarius> *macellarius*; Drimba 2000: 93), or [z] (more typically <ř>), e.g. Kipč. <Yufac> *yuzaq* 'lock' (= MLat. <Clauatura>; Drimba 2000: 102). However, in many (most?) cases it is to be pronounced as [ʃ], e.g. Kipč. <Bofatmac> *bořatmak* 'set free, pardon' (= MLat. <Absolutio>; Drimba 2000: 39), Kipč. <Niřan> *niřan* 'sign' (= MLat. <signum>; Drimba 2000: 67), or Kipč. <Ay bařı> *ay bařı* 'the first day of the month' (= MLat. <Kalendas>; Drimba 2000: 82). Given those circumstances, it is indeed plausible from the formal point of view that <Cofac> might represent *kořak*.

It is the semantic aspect of this scenario that is more challenging. Drimba supports the connection between 'the singer of ghazals (in front of the palace of

the king or a prince)' and 'a kind of guard of the palace' by reference to Per. نوبة *nauba(t)*, which combines meanings such as a sentinel, watchman' with 'a musical band playing at stated times before the palace of a king or prince'. Let us have a closer look at this proposal.

The meanings of the Arabic etymon, نوبة *nauba(t)*, as defined by Wehr (1994: 1181) may be arranged in the following types: 1. 'change, alternation, shift, rotation; (one's) turn'; 2. 'time, instance; case, instance, occasion'; 3. 'fit, attack, paroxysm; crisis'; 'change (or relief) of the guard, guard duty, guard'; 4. 'bugle call; (SyrAr) troupe of musicians, small orchestra of native instruments'. All four types are reflected in one way or another in the semantics of the two Persian reflexes recorded by Steingass (1892: 1431):

نوبة *naubat, nauba* 'supplying the place (of another); a period, time, turn, revolution; anything done periodically; a guard which is relieved; keeping watch, relieving guard; drums beating at the gate of a great man at certain intervals; a sentinel, watchman'

نوبت *naubat, nobat* 'a very large kettle-drum, struck at stated hours; a musical band playing at stated times before the palace of a king or prince;... a large state-tent for giving audience; security, safety; opportunity; guard, protection'

The use of the word with reference to music, musicians or musical instruments is related to a tradition which developed either in the Arab world (at least as early as the 8th century; Wright 1993: 1042) or in Iran (Seljuq 1976: 141), and was subsequently adopted by Muslim rulers of Syria, Turkey, Egypt, North Africa and Spain and India. According to Seljuq (1976: 142), the ceremonial variant of the *naubat* was performed "at the royal courts and palaces of dignitaries five times a day, corresponding with the five times of prayers" as well "at 'Qanqah' (monasteries) and Mausoleums". A special gallery was constructed on top of the main entrance for the musicians to perform in. Furthermore, the *naubat* could be performed by a military band, referred to i.a. as *naubat-xāne* or – in Ottoman Turkey – *mehter* (Feldman 1991; Farmer 2000), cf. RTOİS (748), *mehter* i.e. *hist.* 'band of musicians which played at palaces; musician'.¹⁰ Therefore, it seems undeniable that *naubat* combines the meaning 'a guard' with several senses related to music (1. 'a musician

10 *Naubat* itself found its way to Ottoman Turkish, too, cf. *nöbet = nevbet* i.a. 1. 'turn (of duty etc.); watch (of a sentry etc.)'; 2. 'onset (of fever); fit' 3. 'set performance of a military band', and *nöbethane* 1. 'guardhouse. station of a guard'; 2. 'military band that performed at stated times daily at court'; 3. 'place where the band assembles' (RTOİS: 891).

or a (military) band playing court music at fixed intervals'; 2. 'a sat played at court at fixed intervals'; 3. 'a kettle-drum struck at stated hours').

Nevertheless, while a connection between 'a guard' and 'music played regularly' may be established, as it was one of the functions of guards and military bands to sound regular calls using wind instruments and/or drums (cf. *Ar. nauba(t)* 'bugle call', as recorded in Wehr),¹¹ one has to remain cautious about Drimba's scenario. First of all, the literal meaning of *ḡasal koşak* is, in Drimba's words, 'a singer of ghazals (in front of the palace of the king or a prince)',¹² but unlike blowing a trumpet, singing was hardly the function of a guard.¹³ Furthermore, the author does not explain what he means by 'ghazals', and if the most common application is intended, i.e. 'love poetry', this does not make the solution any more plausible ('a composer/singer of love poetry in front of a palace' > 'a guard'?). As a last resort, one could refer to the fact that a *ḡasal* was also sung as one of the movements in a traditional *naubat* (Wright 1993: 1042), but the question then arises as to why it was this part that was singled out.

To sum up this already lengthy discussion, while the traditional reading of <ghasal Cofac> does not account for the meaning of the first element, the solution advanced by Drimba encounters certain semantic problems too, even if it is very plausible phonetically.

- 11 This is also reflected in the historically attested meanings of the Eng. noun *wait* 'act of waiting' – incidentally, a borrowing of the Northern French counterpart of MLat. *guaita*, both ultimately Germanic (OED2 s.v. *wait* n.): 'a military watchman, sentinel, or look-out; also a scout, spy; esp. a watchman in a camp, castle, or fortified place who was furnished with a horn or trumpet to sound an alarm or to make a signal' (14th–16th centuries), 'a watchman attached to the royal household who sounded the watch, etc., by the blowing of a pipe, trumpet, or other wind-instrument' (14th–15th centuries, 19th century), alongside 'a municipal watchman' (15th century) and 'a body of guards' (18th century), as well as *waits* 'a small body of wind instrumentalists maintained by a city or town at the public charge' (13th–18th centuries). Later extensions include *waits* 'a band of musicians and singers who perambulate the streets by night at the approach of Christmas and the New Year playing and singing carols and other seasonable music for gratuities' (18th–19th centuries) and *wait* 'a player on the flute, hautboy, trumpet' (16th–17th centuries).
- 12 Although 'a composer of ghazals' might be more appropriate (cf. the meanings of *koş-* above).
- 13 Unless 'singing out of boredom' or 'singing to pass the time' is meant, but in that case *naubat* is an unlikely parallel.

Sreznevskij (Srezn.: 1173) cites an Old Russian occurrence in a text which he dates to 1395 (still so in Vasmer 1953: 502; TMEN 3: 467). However, based on evidence pertaining to the author and the content of the relevant letter, the modern editors conclude that the date July 17, 6903 AM is erroneous and emend it to July 17, 6993 AM, i.e. 1485 AD (ASVR: 180, no. 268; so in SRJa XI–XVII: 15).

Another early attestation which is frequently quoted is the following passage in a 1308 document from Sudak in Crimea (Greek text after Antonin 1863: 613, no. 117; English translation and additions from Hrushevsky 1999: 60):

τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐτελίωθ ὁ δουλ τοῦ θῦ ἀλμαλτζοῦ υἱὸς τοῦ σαμακᾶ, φεῦ ὁ νέος
ξίφη σφαγῆς ὑπὸ καζάκων. ἰνδ ς τοῦ ςωις ἐτ

On that day (17 May – M.H.), the servant of God, Almalchu, son of Samaq, died – oh, the youth was killed by the sword of the Cossacks [in the sixth indiction], in the year 6816 (1308 – M.H.).¹⁴

This record has been recently called into question by Basilevsky (2016: 381, n. 8), for whom the Greek text “most certainly” refers to Kasogs (Ru. *касогу*), i.e. Circasians, rather than Cossacks (cf. *Κασακος*, *Κασαγος* ‘Kasogs’ attested in the Greek inscriptions of Olbia and dated to the 2nd/3rd cent. AD and cited by Menges 1956: 90).¹⁵ While he even supplies his own revised translation with ‘Kazoks’ for Hrushevsky’s ‘Cossacks’, he does not provide any justification, and – more crucially – he relies solely on Hrushevsky’s text, which does not give any grounds for the reading ‘Kazoks’. This makes the validity of Basilevsky’s objections rather dubious, or at least difficult to verify, especially without access to the original document, the status and location of which are unknown to me. So far as I was able to determine every other scholar discussing the relevant entry cites it either on the basis of Hrushevsky or from his source, i.e. Antonin’s edition, which clearly prints *καζάκων*. It seems, therefore, more reasonable to adhere to the traditional interpretation of the passage under consideration. Nevertheless, two facts remain suprising: its early date and the meaning implied by the passage. The 1308 attestation predates any

14 Hrushevsky interprets *καζάκοι* here as either bandits of Crimea or Tatars or some other group.

15 Incidentally, while the formal resemblance between *касог* and *казак/козак* has led some to suggest a connection, Golden (2001: 45) states explicitly that the two words are unrelated. Furthermore, Menges (1956: 89–90) rejects any link with the Turkic word. Indeed, given that the derivation of *казак/козак* from Turkic is flawless semantically and phonetically, no other scenario is necessary, much less one that requires additional phonetic readjustments.

reliable mention of Tkč. *ķazak* in the sense ‘brigand, vagabond’, which seems to be the intended meaning here. Perhaps less strikingly, the word then disappears from the annals in Europe for almost a hundred and fifty years only to return in Crimean documents and Slavic chronicle entries of the mid 15th century.

The earliest uncontroversial occurrence of Tkč. *ķazak* comes from a mid 14th-century Kipčak-Arabic dictionary, *Kitāb tarğumān turkī wa-‘arabī wa-muğālī* (1343; see Appendix B), in the meaning ‘free, freed’. This, along with the phrase *ķazak başlı* ‘single, bachelor’ in a later (?) work, *Kitāb at-tuħfa az-zakiyya fī l-luġa at-turkiyya* (before 1426, perhaps mid 14th century; see Appendix B for details), records a more general use of the word, which has nothing to do with political vagabondage (and hence freebooting), a sense that *ķazak* and *ķazaklık* were to acquire in the course of the fifteenth century. As Lee writes (2015: 45–46; footnotes omitted):

[T]he quasi-*qazaq* bands, such as the Neguderī that became active in Khorasan from the second half of the thirteenth century, were not referred to as *qazaqs* by their contemporaries, implying that the term *qazaq* was most likely not used in Central Eurasia to designate fugitives or frontier freebooters in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; second, the term *qazaq* in the sense of a fugitive, freebooter, or vagabond began to appear in the sources written in the fifteenth century. Importantly, whereas the Timurid histories written in Persian in the early fifteenth century did not refer to Temūr as *qazaq*, the contemporary histories of Sulṭān-Ḥusain Bayqara (r. 1469–70 and 1470–1506) and Babur (r. 1526–30), i.e., the sources written in the second half of the fifteenth century and after, use the term *qazaq* to denote the *qazaqliq* days of these two Timurid princes.

In fact, based on his thorough analysis of post-Mongol documents from Central Eurasia, Lee (2015: 48) concludes that it was precisely the development of the meaning ‘a freebooter, a brigand’ that was the prerequisite for the spread of the word. While the earliest occurrences in Slavic sources in this sense come from the 15th century, *kozak* ~ *kazak* does not gain greater currency until the 16th century, when it also serves as a derivational base for a number of words (e.g. Pol. *Kozactwo*, *kozakować* or Ru. *казаковать*, *казачество*). Parallel to that, albeit at a slower pace, speakers of West European languages gradually become familiar with Cossacks. This initially applies to the Genoese in Crimea (1449, 1474), who control important cities on the shores of the Black Sea at the time. Yet it is not until the second half of the 16th century that we find the earliest references in Italy itself (1550, 1575, 1583, 1594, 1595) and then in France (1578, 1583, 1584), and England (1587).

By that time the word for 'cassock' is fairly well established at least in Italy, as evident from Appendix B. Owing to the tremendous work by Schweickard (2006), the early usage of *casacca* and the like in texts from the territory of Italy is abundantly documented. There are at least nine occurrences of the word in 15th-century texts, whether written in Italian or Latin, with the earliest from 1472 in the sense of 'military clothing to be worn under armour' (cf. the meaning of Per. *kazāğand* discussed in section 5.1 below).

As for France, the available pre-1500 evidence for *casaque* is scanty. In fact, it amounts to two occurrences, both mentioned in FEW II (562). While I was not able to access the work which Wartburg cites in support of the Occitan form *cassaqua* (1450),¹⁶ the earliest source given for French, i.e. the 1413 *casaque*, looks suspicious. The form is usually accompanied by a reference to Gay (1887), who in turn quotes the *Histoire de Charles VI Roy de France* attributed to Jean Juvénal des Ursins. The relevant passage, as quoted by Gay (1887 2: 43 s.v. *huque*), runs as follows: "A Paris fut faite une livrée de huques *ou casaques* de deux violets de diverses couleurs" (emphasis mine). There are two important points to be made. Firstly, the date 1413 is the one found in the text, but not the date of composition. The latter is unknown, but the typical estimate points to a period after 1430 (Veenstra 1998: 21; Curry 2000: 128). Secondly and more importantly, the text of the *Histoire...* is known from two printed editions published by Theodore Godefroy (1614) and by his son, Denis Godefroy (1653). Crucially, the phrase "*ou casaques*" is missing from the first edition (1614: 333) and appears only in the second (1653: 254). It is not impossible then that "*ou casaques*" was added by Denis Godefroy as a gloss to "*huques*".

One of the early authors who support the relationship between *casaque* and *Cosaque* is Beneton de Morange de Peyrins (1739). On pages 102–103 of his work (see also Planché 1876: 86–87) he suggests that the *casaque* received its name in French (alongside an alternative, *hongreline*) after the battle of Nicopolis in 1396, as a type of military dress worn by the Cossacks and Hungarians who served under King Sigismund of Hungary and fought alongside Charles VI's army. While the Hungarian army most likely did include some Turkic elements at the time (Nicolle 1999: 21–22), Beneton's story must be a figment of his imagination. If Lee (2015) is right, the word in question could not have been used to refer to those

16 The work in question is Pierre Pansier's *Histoire de la langue provençale à Avignon du XII^e au XIX^e siècle*, published in 4 volumes in 1924–1927, and followed by a fifth volume, *Supplément lexicologique* in 1932.

Turkic soldiers: even if the institution of political vagabondage did exist in the late 14th century it did not bear the name *ķazaklık* yet, and *ķazak* itself did not evoke any coherent image of a particular social group.¹⁷

All in all, the early evidence suggests that the scenario in 2b is implausible. The knowledge about Cossacks and their exploits is initially a purely Eastern phenomenon and does not reach the West sufficiently early to provide a sound basis for any association between the Cossacks (whether ‘political vagabonds’ or simply ‘freebooters’) and the garments they wore. Conversely, *casaque* ‘garment’, in its early history (i.e. 15th–16th centuries), is unique to Western Europe. This suggests that any connection between the two words is folk-etymological and it is a later development.

5. The Perso-Arabic hypothesis

5.1. Per. *ķazāġand*

The derivation from Per. *ķazāġand* was originally suggested by de Lagarde (1887: 298–302); its variants are to be found among others in FEW II s.v. *kazagand*, Webster (1961) s.v. *cassock*, Klein (1966) s.v. *cassock*, AHD3 s.v. *cassock*; TLFi s.v. *casaque* considers it less plausible.

Based on his impressive analysis of early Persian lexicographical and literary sources, Melikian-Chirvani (1983: 14–15) reaches the following conclusion regarding the original meaning of the word (romanization retained):

Summing up the literary evidence, the picture of the *ķazhāġand* that emerges is entirely consistent with the glosses provided by the early dictionaries. The defence belongs to the general category called *ķhaftān* with which it is actually equated by Zamakhshārī and Nakhjavānī as well as by Asadī in the *Ġarshāsp-Nāme*. It is implicitly understood as a “silk-waste padded cloak” (*qabā-ye ķazhāġand*) and explicitly referred to as such by the lexicographer Nakhjavānī and the poet Neẓāmī. The defence incorporated a coat of mail, sewn inside the garment (Zamakhshārī) and therefore unseen, leaving only the very finely woven silk visible (Neẓāmī in the *Sharaf-Nāme*), in fact brocades embroidered (according to the *Ġarshāsp-Nāme*,

17 It is thus not surprising that Hung. *kozák* ‘free Slavic peasant living in a military organization (esp. one that served in cavalry)’ is first attested in 1530 (TESz: 599). The editors derive it from Ukrainian, although some instances are tentatively attributed to Polish influence.

confirmed in 1652 by the *Borhān-e Qāte'*, echoing some earlier source) with insignia (in the *Garshāsp-Nāme*). Throughout, the use of the *kazhāgand* is repeatedly associated by early Persian poets with Chīn, that is Turkistan (Ferdowsi, Asadi in the *Garshāsp-Nāme*, and Nezāmi in the *Sharaf-Nāme*).

As far as the form is concerned, there is considerable variation in terms of how the Persian etymon is represented in modern dictionaries, which makes it difficult to recover the actual pronunciation. The following spellings are only a sample (romanization adapted): *kazagand* (in FEW II s.v. *kazagand*; Klein 1966 s.v. *cassock*), *kuzāgand* (in DEI s.v. *casacca*), *kazāgand* (in TLFi s.v. *casaque*), *kažāgand* (in Webster 1961 s.v. *cassock*) and *kažāgand* (in AHD₃), of which only the last two are indeed Persian. Based on a chronological survey of forms from early Persian literary and lexicographical sources collected by Melikian-Chirvani (see Appendix A), it turns out that the 10th–15th-century documentary record is dominated by *kazāgand* ~ *kažāgand*, with *kažāgand* ~ *kažāgand* clearly less widespread, to which a mid-17th-century dictionary adds *kağāgand* and *kazāgang* among others. Steingass (1892) quotes as many as seven alternatives: *کاژ-آگند* *kaž-āgand*, *کاز-آگند* *kaž-āgand* (p. 1027), *کاğ-آگند* *kağ-āgand* (both on p. 1016), *کازآگند* *kazāgand*, *کازآگند* *kazāgand*, and *کازآگند* *kaz-āgang* (all three on p. 698), whereas PRS has *کاğ-آگند* *kağ-āgand* (p. 312) 'a garment padded with silk (worn under armour or mail)', with what he treats as its variants, i.e. *کاژ-آگند* *kaž-āgand*, *کاز-آگند* *kaž-āgand* (p. 324), alongside *کاز-آگند* *kaz-āgand* 'quilted jacket worn under a coat of mail; mattress' (p. 266).

The canonical form of a compound depends on what we take to be the basic variants of its constituent parts. The second element is uncontroversially as *āgand* 'stuffed, filled' ← *āgandan* 'to stuff, to fill'. The spelling fluctuation *ğ* *g* (also written as *ج*) ~ *گ* *g* reflects an Early New Persian dialectal alternation between stop and fricative pronunciations of the phoneme /g/, the former mostly found in the northeastern and the latter in the central and southwestern dialects (Pisowicz 1985: 138).¹⁸

As for the first element, there is variation in Persian in both the initial and the final consonant, but significantly the distribution is not completely random:

18 As for the 17th-century variant ending in *-ng* (also in Steingass 1892), Melikian-Chirvani (1983: 11–12) refers to Henning's (1945: 154–155) discussion of a change in the history of Persian whereby an earlier (i.e. Middle or Classical Persian) *-ng* turned to *-nd* word-finally (also acknowledged in Lazard 1963: 162, §78). Significantly, neither author cites *āgand* ~ *āgang* among his examples, and, indeed, such inclusion would

one only encounters *kaž-* ~ *kaḡ-* and *kaz-*. Dehxodâ (1957 s.v. کاز) considers *kaž* to be the canonical form of the word for 'raw silk' and most authors seem to agree. Furthermore, if we leave aside the *k-*forms (to be discussed below), it is indeed *kaž-* that is almost universally found in the compound in question in the earliest sources, *kaḡ* being rare.

As for the earlier history of the word for 'raw silk' in Persian, it has to be borne in mind that in fact it has three forms in *k-*, namely *kaḡ* ~ *kaž* ~ *kaz* (the latter apparently not found in the compound). This variation is not uncommon in the early Persian sources (for this and other examples of *ḡ* ~ *ž* ~ *z*, see Lazard 1963, §§42–44: 148–149) and it may point to repeated interdialectal borrowing. Asbaghi (1988: 218) cites MPer. (Pahlavi) *kač* 'raw silk' (also cited in Tietze 1967: no. 72) and suggests its regular development into Per. *kaž*, whereas according to Zieme (1997: 154) it is *kaḡ* that is the direct New Persian descendant of the Middle Persian form. Furthermore, the latter author draws attention to the existence of other potentially related words, like Per. *kaḡī* 'raw silk from the cones' ~ *gazī* 'coarse kind of (cotton) cloth' (> Ott. *gezi* 'silk and cotton material', RTOİS: 399), and indicates that it is not implausible that all of these ultimately go back to an external source, with a potential source in Sanskrit (Zieme 1997: 155). All in all, the matter is complex and calls for a thorough analysis by a specialist in Middle Iranian/Early New Iranian dialectology.

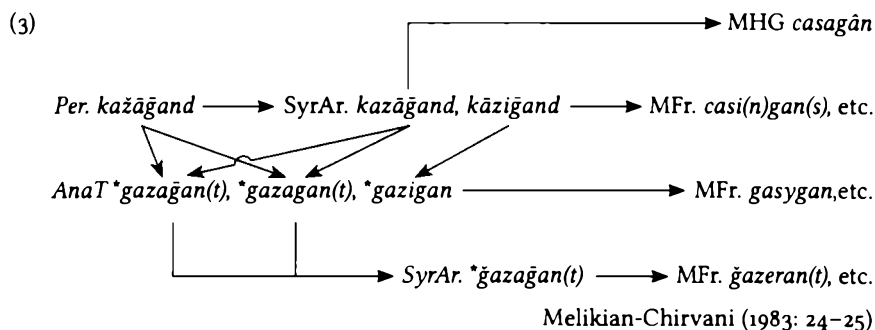
Coming back to *kazāḡand* ~ *kažāḡand*, these are due to Arabicization that quite commonly affected native Iranian vocabulary under the influence of the prestigious Arab culture. Per. *kaž* 'raw silk' itself was first borrowed into Arabic as *kaz(z)*, and then found its way back into Persian as *kaz* 'id.' (Maciuszak 1996: 30).¹⁹ However, while Per. *kaz* is indeed a returning loan, *kazāḡand* ~ *kažāḡand* must be a Persian-internal creation imitating Arabic rather than a Rückwanderer, as all the attested Arabic reflexes begin in *k*. In other words, *kazāḡand* ~ *kažāḡand* may be considered a Perso-Arabic hybrid in which the first element of a native Persian compound was substituted with its Arabic reflex.

raise serious doubts, as it turns out that *d* is here primary (the variant *āḡang* is not even included in the appropriate entries in DKS s.v. *kan-* 'to throw, put'; EWAia s.v. *āhanās-*; Chueung 2007 s.v. **kan²*; ÈSIIJa s.v. **kan-*).

- 19 Other examples of such Arabicization include Per. *fārsī* 'Persian' (beside the earlier native *pārsī*) < Ar. *fārisī* < Per. *pārsī* among others.

5.2. MFr. *gasygan*

Appendix A features a chronological list of the relevant forms. The fact that the French ones are somehow related to the Persian ones seems to be universally accepted, but the exact details of this relationship are rarely discussed. The only exception that I am aware of is Melikian-Chirvani (1983), who suggests a possible transmission route and supports his claims with rich philological material. The gist of his proposal may be represented in the following graph:



We will leave aside the forms in *ğ*- and the question of whether they should be included in the diagram above, as they are not directly relevant to the history of the words under discussion.²⁰ The part of the scenario that is relevant to *gasygan*, etc. rests on three unattested dialectal Turkish pronunciations, which are responsible for the voicing of the initial consonant. While the process of voicing initial plosives in some forms of spoken Anatolian Turkish (as a reflection of a more general tendency in Oghuz Turkic) is indeed well documented,²¹ the expected result in this particular case (irrespective of whether the source was Persian or

20 For the same reason, these forms are omitted in Appendix A. The bibliographical and chronological details pertaining to these can be easily obtained from AND s.v. *jacerant*, DÉAF s.v. *jazerenc* and DMF s.v. *jaseran*, all available online free of charge. In the context of our word it is interesting to note that while the occurrences of *gasygan* & co. are few and far between (see Appendix A), forms with *r* in the onset of the final syllable gained considerable currency in Medieval French (with DÉAF quoting as many as over seventy instances).

21 See e.g. Caferoğlu (1959: §23221), Doerfer (1975–1976, on *k > g*, see pp. 118–119) and Rentzsch (2011, on *k > g*, see pp. 349–351). According to Doerfer's dating, the shift was an ongoing sound change in the relevant period.

Arabic) would be a form beginning in *ge-* rather than *ga-*. There are two reasons behind this claim: (a) the typical adaptation of Perso-Arabic short *a* as *e* in Turkish, e.g. Per. *ġandara* ‘a press’ > Ott. *ġendere* ‘id.’, (b) the tendency of ک *k* (pronounced as [kʰ]) to palatalize the neighbouring vowel (as opposed to ق *q*), cf. Per. *kargas* ‘a vulture’ > Turk. *kerkes* ‘id.’, Ar. *kamāl* ‘perfection’ > Ott. *kemāl* ‘id.’ against Per. *ḵaltabān* ‘pimp, cuckold’ > Turk. *ḵaltaban* ‘id.’, Ar. *ḵalam* ‘a pen’ > Ott. *ḵalam* ‘id.’ (see Stein 2006). The presence of both features in the Persian word in question strongly suggests that a Turk. **gazaġan(t)*, **gazagan(t)*, **gazigan* going back to Per. *kažāġand* is highly unlikely. Furthermore, there is no reason for substituting Per. *ž* with Ott. *z*: the former was typically preserved, e.g. Per. *kažāba* ‘a camel-litter in which Persian ladies travel’ (Steingass 1892: 1027) > Ott. *kežabe* ‘id.’ (RTOİS: 632). The above remarks are confirmed by the Ottoman reflex of the Persian word recorded by Meniški (1680 2: coll. 3939–3940) as کزآغند *kežāġend* ~ کزآغند *kežegend* (RTOİS has کزآغند ~ کزآگند *kežāġend* ‘thickly padded battle coat’, p. 632, and the variant کج آغند ~ کج آگند *keġāġend*, p. 629).

Melikian-Chirvani’s scenario may be amended by assuming that the relevant Persian form here is the Arabicized *kažāġand* ~ *kažāġand*, which was regularly rendered in Ottoman as کزآگند *kažāġend* ‘a doublet quilted with refuse silk, sometimes worn under armor, or as armor’ (Redhouse 1890: 1451). One should note the diverging adaptation of Persian short *a* in this form: once as *a*, due to the neighbouring ق *q*. This might have become **gazaġen(t)* or **gazagen(t)* in popular pronunciation.²²

As for the AnaT. variant **gazigan*, which Melikian-Chirvani (1983) derives from Ar. *kāziġand* in order to account for MFr. *gasygan* & co., the regular reflex of the Per./Ar. sequence *kā* in Ottoman is *kâ* [kʰa], i.e. the backness of the vowel is preserved, but the initial velar plosive is interpreted as palatalized, e.g. Ar. *kāfir* ‘infidel’ > Ott. *kâfir* (for other examples, based on Filippo Argenti’s Ottoman material, see Stachowski K. 2015: 283). Consequently, one would expect a result more along the lines of **gāzigan(t)*, with [gʰa] ~ [ʃa], the nearest equivalent of which in Old French would most likely be [dʒ] (itself a development of an earlier

22 Persian word-final *d* would indeed be pronounced voiceless in Ottoman and in a cluster such as *nd* could be optionally lost. This is occasionally reflected in transcription texts, e.g. Per. *dulband* ‘turban’ > *tūlbent* ~ *tūlban* & co. (PLOT: no. 619), and in dialectal materials, e.g. Per. *ābkand*, *āukand* ‘any hollow channel excavated by the rushing of a torrent; a place where water collects and stagnates; a pond’ > dial. Turk. *avkan(t)* ~ *avgan(t)* (Tietze 1967: no. 1).

[gʲ] or [ʃ], Pope 1952: §300). This suggests that another explanation should be sought for MFr. *gasygan* & co (confusion of the two alleged Turkish pronunciations **gazagan(t)* and **gâzigan(t)* in the French ears?).

All in all, Melikian-Chirvani's derivation of MFr. *gasygan* & co. via Turkish from Persian is not void of problems: some of its phonetic details remain unclear and certain crucial stages it involves are only hypothetical (even if plausible). Nevertheless the historical and philological evidence seems convincing enough to assume that Per. *kazāğ*and along with its referent were subject to cultural borrowing in the period of the crusades.

5.3. MFr. *casaque*

The idea that Fr. *casaque* (and hence Eng. *cassock*) ultimately goes back to the Persian word rests on the premise that at some point either the final *-and* of the Oriental etymon itself or the final *-an(t)* of its French reflexes was reinterpreted as a suffix and deleted. This etymology has a few weaknesses.

First of all, it is unclear what suffix the sequence under consideration could have been identified with. From a formal standpoint, the closest match is the Old French present participle ending *-ant* (see Einhorn 1974: 27 on this suffix), but given the nature of backformation, one should expect a verbal rather than a nominal stem as the end product of subtracting a sequence identified with a participial ending.²³ Functionally, a more plausible candidate is the diminutive *-in*, but the comparison seems far-fetched from a phonetic standpoint.

Furthermore, even if this scenario were correct, backformation from *gasigant* or *casingan* would hardly yield *casaque*. More specifically, the change *gasigant* > *casaque* involves two inexplicable changes: (a) devoicing of initial *g-*, and (b) lowering of *i* > *a*. Taking *casingan* as the input we circumvent the first problem, but run into others instead. It is likely that this form was pronounced as [kazipān],²⁴ which would most likely produce [kazij] by backformation.

23 Backformation, in Fertig's words (2013: 51), "amounts to innovators guessing at the input to a rule based on its output". The alleged output of the rule in our case is any of the Old French forms in *-ant*, say, *gasigant*, whereas the relevant rule is "add *-ant* to a verbal stem to form a present participle".

24 The sequence *ng* poses a certain problem. It was a regular spelling of [ŋ] word-finally, but intervocalically it was typically substituted by *gn*. Nevertheless, Pope (1952: §695) admits that *ng* for [ŋ] could occasionally appear elsewhere.

Last but not least, the problematic status of the 1413 attestation of *casaque* increases the temporal distance between the last occurrences of *gasigant* (late 14th century) and *casagua* (Old Occitan, 1450). While the difference is not dramatic, it reduces the odds that the two are connected, especially given the apparent marginal status of the former, as discussed in note 20.

The above observations make it difficult to accept a direct relationship between Per. *kažāgand* and MFr. *casaque* without hesitation.

6. Tk. *kazak* × Per. *kažāgand*

A variant combining the two hypotheses in 2b and 2c has been recently suggested by Garland Cannon (2001). In his dictionary of words in English of Persian origin he puts forward a theory of a folk-etymological association between Tk. *kazak* and Per. *kažāgand*, whereby the latter was modified into *casacca*. All the remarks pertaining to chronology apply here as well: Tk. *kazak* reaches the West too late to have had any such effect.

7. Solution(?): MGr. *καζάκας* and the origin of It. *casacca* (> Fr. *casaque*)

Although Medieval Greek material has been largely ignored in the context of the etymology of the Romance forms, it may provide us with a missing link between Per. *kažāgand* or Arabicized Per. *kažāgand* and It. *casacca* (in which case It. > Fr. *casaque*). The word occurs in Greek at least three times in the Middle Ages in the following forms (LBG: 726): *καζακάδων* (ca. 1235), *καζακάν* (with the description *μεταξωτόν* 'of silk', before 1236), *καζακάν* (ca. 1326). According to Parani (2003: 120f.), the context in which the last of these appears clearly indicates that the word denotes some sort of protective garment, which allows her to derive the word from Per. *kažāgand* or *kažāgand*. It should be noted that from a formal standpoint the adaptation is straightforward irrespective of which Persian form was the source, and may have involved: (a) deletion of final *-d* (a final *-nd* would violate Greek phonotactics), (b) metanalysis of *kazakan* as an accusative *kazak·an*. Both Arabicized Per. *k* > MGr. *k* and Per. *ž* > MGr. *z* are equally likely.

It has to be pointed out that while LBG itself derives MGr. *καζάκας* < It. *casacca*, I would like to propose the opposite direction, given that the earliest Italian record goes back to the 15th century. This assumption seems to be indirectly corroborated by the fact that at least some of the earliest occurrences in Italian documents,

whether written in Medieval Latin (1484) or Italian (1495, 1500, 1504, see Schweickard 2006: 592 with references) denote an item of clothing worn by the *stradioti*, i.e. mercenaries recruited in the Balkans, esp. among the Greek population, to serve the Venetians from the 15th onwards. Thus, the early evolution of *casacca*, *casaque* and *cassock* (disregarding their modern usage) would have been as follows:

- (4) Per. *kažāğand* ~ *qazāğand* '1' > MGr. *καζακάν*, metanalysed as an accusative of *καζάκας* '1; *2' > It. *casacca* '1, 2, 3' > Fr. *casaque* '2, 3' > Eng. *cassock* '2, 3', where:
1. 'a cloak padded with silk and a coat of mail sewn inside'
 2. 'military clothing (as worn by the *stradioti*)'
 3. 'a wide comfortable coat'

It is clear that the first meaning became gradually distorted in time,²⁵ whereas the second one has to be reconstructed for Greek.

A derivation such as the one in (5) is satisfactory from the phonetic, morphological and semantic point of view. Firstly, it does not show a vowel change which would then be unexpectedly reversed and secondly, the morphological metanalysis it involves is based on a formal similarity to a regularly encountered inflectional ending rather than a far-fetched comparison to a derivational suffix. What seems to contradict this solution is the fact that the Italian forms postdate the earliest attestations cited for French (1413) and Occitan (1450). While the status of the former has been questioned above, the latter has to be verified against the original source.

8. Conclusion

The aim of the present article was to collect evidence from a variety of sources, with the aim to evaluate the available etymologies of Eng. *cassock* and its Romance source(s) and to identify their shortcomings. It transpires that the Italian diminutive hypothesis is not quite satisfactory for formal and semantic reasons. Between the two etymologies suggesting borrowing from the East, the Turkic theory has to be rejected from a chronological standpoint, whereas the Perso-Arabic option runs into formal difficulties. As an attempt to revise the latter, an alternative proposal involving Greek mediation has been suggested.

25 Cf. the numerous instances of 'military clothing worn *under* armour' cited above. For the discussion of a similar point with reference to 16th-century Persian dictionaries, see Melikian-Chirvani (1983: 11).

Language name abbreviations

AnaT = Spoken Anatolian Turkish; AFr. = Anglo-French; Ar. = Arabic; Cat. = Catalan; Ćag. = Ćagatay; Eng. = English; Fr. = French; Ger. = German; Gr. = Greek; Heb. = Hebrew; Hung. = Hungarian; It. = Italian; Lat. = Latin; MFr. = Medieval French (Old/Middle French); MGr. = Medieval Greek; MHG = Middle High German; MKipĉ. = Middle Kipĉak; MLat. = Medieval; Ott. = Ottoman Turkish; Per. = Persian; Pol. = Polish; Ru. = Russian; SyrAr. = Syrian Arabic; Tk. = Turkic Latin; Occ. = Occitan; Turk. = Turkish; Ukr. = Ukrainian; Ven. = Venetian

Bibliography

- Ахмедов Б.А. 1965. *Государство кочевых узбеков*. Москва.
- AHD3 = Soukhanov A.H. (ed.). 1992. *American heritage dictionary*. [3rd edition]. Boston.
- AND = *Anglo-Norman Dictionary Online*. [www.anglo-norman.net; accessed February 8, 2017]
- Antonin 1863 = Архимандрит Антонин (ed.). 1863. Заметки XII–XV века, относящиеся к крымскому городу Сугдее (Судаку), приписанные на греческом Синаксаре. – *Записки Одесского общества истории и древностей* 5: 595–628.
- Asbaghi A. 1988. *Persische Lehnwörter im Arabischen*. Wiesbaden.
- ASVR = Черепнин Л.В. (ed.). 1958. *Акты социально-экономической истории северо-восточной Руси конца XIV–начала XVI в.* [vol. 2]. Москва.
- AZR = *Акты относящиеся к истории Западной России*. [vol. 1]. Санкт-Петербург.
- Basilevsky A. 2016. *Early Ukraine: A military and social history to the mid-19th century*. Jefferson, North Carolina.
- Bayevsky S. 1999a. Farhang-e jahāngiri. – *Encyclopædia Iranica Online*. [www.iranicaonline.org/articles/farhang-e-jahangiri; accessed February 8, 2017].
- Bayevsky S. 1999b. Farhang-e sorūrī. – *Encyclopædia Iranica Online*. [www.iranicaonline.org/articles/farhang-e-soruri; accessed February 8, 2017].
- Beneton de Morange de Peyrins Ė.C. 1739. *Traité des marques nationales*. Paris.
- Blois F. de. 1998. Eskandar-nāma of Neẓāmī. – *Encyclopædia Iranica Online*. [www.iranicaonline.org/articles/eskandar-nama-of-nezami; accessed February 8, 2017].
- Brüch J. 1944. Frz. *casaque*, it. *casacca* „Reise-, Reitrock“. – *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 64: 145–147.
- Buchi Ė. 1996. *Les Structures du “Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch”. Recherches métalxicographiques et métalxicologiques*. Tübingen.
- Caferoğlu A. 1959. Die anatolischen und rumelischen Dialekte. – Deny J., Grønbech K., Scheel H., Togan Z.V. (eds.). *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*. [vol. 1]. Wiesbaden: 239–260.
- Cahen C. (1947–1948). Un traité d'armurerie composé pour Saladin. – *Bulletin d'études orientales* 12: 103–163.
- Cannon G. 2001. *Persian contributions to the English language*. Wiesbaden.

- Cheung J. 2007. *Etymological dictionary of the Iranian verb*. Leiden.
- Cortelazzo M. 1957. Contributo alla protostoria dell'it. «casacca». – *Lingua Nostra* 18: 35–39.
- Curry A. 2000. *The battle of Agincourt: Sources and interpretations*. Woodbridge.
- DCECH = Corominas J., Pascual J. 1984. *Diccionario crítico etimológico castellano e hispánico*. [vol 1]. Gredos.
- DÉAF = *Dictionnaire étymologique de l'ancien français*. [Online edition; www.deaf-page.de/index.php; accessed February 8, 2017].
- Dehxodâ A.-A. 1957. *Loqat-nâme*. [vol. 39]. Tehran.
- DEI = Battisti C., Alessio G. 1950. *Dizionario etimologico italiano*. [vol. 1]. Firenze.
- DELI = Cortelazzo M., Zolli P. 1990–1992. *Dizionario etimologico della lingua italiana*. [vol. 1]. Bologna.
- Diez F. 1853. *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der romanischen Sprachen*. Bonn.
- DKS = Bailey H.W. 1969. *Dictionary of Khotan Saka*. Cambridge.
- DMF = Martin R. (ed.). 2015. *Dictionnaire du Moyen Français (1330–1500)*. [www.atilf.fr/dmf/; accessed February 8, 2017].
- Doerfer G. 1975–1976. Das Vorosmanische. (Die Entwicklung der oghusischen Sprachen von den Orchoninschriften bis zu Sultan Veled.). – *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı Belleten*: 81–131.
- Drimba V. 1966. Quelques leçons et étymologies comanes. – *Revue Roumaine de Linguistique* 11.5: 481–489.
- Drimba V. 1981. Sur la datation de la première partie du Codex Cumanicus. – *Oriens* 27/28: 388–404.
- Drimba V. 2000. *Codex Comanicus. Édition diplomatique avec fac-similés*. Bucarest.
- Einhorn E. 1974. *Old French: a concise handbook*. Cambridge.
- Ermers R.J. 1999. *Arabic grammars of Turkic: The Arabic linguistic model applied to foreign languages & translation of 'Abū Ḥayyān Al-'Andalusī's Kitāb al-'idrāk li-lisān al-'atrāk*. Leiden.
- ÊSIJa = Эдельман Д.И. (ed.). 2011. *Этимологический словарь иранских языков*. [vol. 4]. Moskva.
- ÊSTJa = Левитская Л.С., Дыбо А.В., Рассадин В.И. (eds.). 2000. *Этимологический словарь тюркских языков*. [vol. 6]. Москва.
- EWAia = Mayrhofer M. 1992. *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen*. [vol. 1]. Heidelberg.
- Farmer H.G. 2000. *Ṭabl-khāna*. – Bearman P.J., Bianquis Th., Bosworth C.E., Van Donzel E., Heinrichs W.P. (eds.). *Encyclopaedia of Islam. New edition*. [vol. 10]. Leiden: 34–38.
- Feldman W. 1991. Mehter. – Bosworth C.E., Van Donzel E., Heinrichs W.P., Pellat Ch. (eds.). *Encyclopaedia of Islam. New edition*. [vol. 6]. Leiden: 1007–1008.
- Fennis J. 1995. *Trésor du langage des galères: Dictionnaire exhaustif, avec une introduction, des dessins originaux de René Burlet et des planches de Jean-Antoine de Barras de la Penne, un relevé onomasiologique et une bibliographie*. Tübingen.
- Fertig D. 2013. *Analogy and morphological change*. Edinburgh.

- FEW II = Wartburg W. von 1953. *Französisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. [vol. 2, fasc. 577–768]. Bonn.
- Flemming B. 1968. Ein alter Irrtum bei der chronologischen Einordnung des Targumān turki wa 'ağami wa muğali. – *Der Islam* 44: 226–29.
- Florio J. 1598. *A worlde of wordes*. London.
- Folena G. 1956. Cosacco e casacca. – *Lingua Nostra* 17: 45–46.
- Gay V. 1887. *Glossaire archéologique du Moyen Age et de la Renaissance*. Paris.
- Gianelli L., Cravens Th. 1997. Consonantal weakening. – Maiden M., Parry M. (eds.). *The dialects of Italy*. London: 32–40.
- Godefroy D. (ed.). 1653. *Histoire de Charles VI roy de France et des choses memorables advenues durant 42. annés de son regne, depuis 1380 iusques à 1422, par Jean Juvénal des Ursins, ... augmentée en cette seconde édition de plusieurs mémoires, journaux, observations historiques et annotations contenant divers traictez, contracts, testamens et autres actes et pièces du mesme temps non encore imprimées, par Denys Godefroy*. Paris.
- Godefroy Th. 1614. *Histoire de Charles VI roy de France et des choses, advenues de son regne, de's l'an 1380 iusques en l'an 1422, par ... Jean Juvénal des Ursins ... mise en lumiere par Theodore Godefroy*. Paris.
- Golden P.B. 2001. Nomads in the sedentary world: The case of pre-Chinggisid Rus' and Georgia. – Khazanov A.M., Wink A. (eds.). *Nomads in the sedentary world*. Richmond: 24–75.
- Golden P.B. 2009. Migrations, ethnogenesis. – Di Cosmo N., Frank A.J., Golden P.B. (eds.). *The Cambridge history of Inner Asia: the Chinggisid Age*. Cambridge: 109–119.
- Haase C.P. 1982. Abd-Al-Razzaq Samarqandi. – *Encyclopædia Iranica Online*. [www.iranicaonline.org/articles/abd-al-razzaq-samarqandi-historian-and-scholar-1413–82, accessed on February 8, 2017].
- Heinzle J. (ed.). 1994. *Wolfram von Eschenbach, Willehalm. Nach der Handschrift 857 der Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen*. Tübingen.
- Henning W.B. 1945. Two Central Asian words. – *Transactions of the Philological Society* 44.1: 150–162.
- Hitti P.K. (transl.). 1929. *An Arab-Syrian gentleman and warrior in the period of the Crusades: Memoirs of Usamah ibn-Munqidh (Kitab al-I'tibar)*. New York.
- Houtsma M.Th. (ed.). 1894. *Ein türkisch-arabisches Glossar*. Leiden.
- Hrushevsky M. 1999. *History of Ukraine-Rus'*. [vol. 7]. Toronto.
- Hunt T. 2004. William the Clerk (fl. c.1200–c.1240). – *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford. [www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29475; accessed February 20, 2017].
- İnalçık H. 1979–1980. The khan and the tribal aristocracy: The Crimean Khanate under Sahib Giray I. – *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 3–4.1 [= *Eucharisterion: Essays presented to Omeljan Pritsak on his Sixtieth Birthday by his Colleagues and Students*]: 445–466.
- Jones W.J. 1976. *A lexicon of French borrowings in the German vocabulary (1575–1648)*. Berlin.
- Khaleghi-Motlagh D. 1999. Ferdowsi, Abu'l-Qāsem: i. Life. – *Encyclopædia Iranica Online*. [www.iranicaonline.org/articles/ferdowsi-i; accessed February 8, 2017].
- Klein E. 1966. *A comprehensive etymological dictionary of the English language*. [vol. 1]. Amsterdam.

- Kluge F. 2002. *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*. [Bearb. von E. Seebold]. Berlin.
- Kołodziejczyk D. 2011. *The Crimean Khanate and Poland-Lithuania international diplomacy on the European periphery (15th–18th century)*. A study of peace treaties followed by annotated documents. Leiden.
- Lagarde P. de. 1887. Nouveaux mélanges orientaux. – *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* 1887.8 [April 15, 1887]: 289–312.
- Lazard G. 1963. *La langue des plus anciens monuments de la prose persane*. Paris.
- LBG = Trapp E. (ed.). 2001. *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität: besonders des 9.–12. Jahrhunderts*. [fasc. 4]. Wien.
- Lee J.-Y. 2015. *Qazaqliq, or ambitious brigandage, and the formation of the qazaqs: State and identity in post-Mongol Central Eurasia*. Leiden.
- Longnon J. (ed.) 1948. *Henri de Valenciennes. Histoire de l'empereur Henri de Constantinople*. Paris.
- Maciuszak K. 1996. Notes on etymology of the New Persian colour names. – *Studia Etymologica Cracoviensia* 1: 25–37.
- MacKenzie D.N. 1992. Codex Cumanicus. – *Encyclopædia Iranica Online*. [www.iranicaonline.org/articles/codex-cumanicus; accessed February 8, 2017].
- Melikian-Chirvani A.S. 1983. The westward journey of the *kazhagand*. – *The Journal of the Arms & Armour Society* 11.1: 8–35.
- Ménage G. 1650. *Les origines de la langue françoise*. Paris.
- Menges K.H. 1956. Etymological notes on some non-Altaic Oriental words in the Old-Russian Igoř-Song. – *Oriens* 9.1: 86–94.
- Meniński à Mesgnien F. 1680. *Thesaurus linguarum orientalium, Turcicae, Arabicae, Persicae*. [vol. 2]. Viennæ.
- Morrison G. (ed.). 1981. *History of Persian literature: from the beginning of the Islamic period to the present day*. Leiden, Köln.
- Müller E. 1865. *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der englischen Sprache*. [vol. 1]. Cöthen.
- Nicolle D. 1982. *The military technology of classical Islam*. [University of Edinburgh PhD thesis]. Edinburgh.
- Nicolle D. 1999. *Nicopolis 1396*. Oxford.
- OED₁ = Murray J.A.H., Bradley H., Craigie W., Onions C.T. (eds.). 1884–1928. *A new English dictionary on historical principles*. Oxford.
- OED₂ = Simpson J., Weiner E. (eds.). 1989. *Oxford English dictionary*. [2nd edition]. Oxford.
- OED₃ = Simpson J., Weiner E. (eds.). 2010–. *Oxford English dictionary*. [3rd edition; oed.com; accessed July 20, 2016].
- Onions C.T. 1966. *The Oxford dictionary of English etymology*. London.
- Parani M.G. 2003. *Reconstructing the reality of images. Byzantine material culture and religious iconography (11th–15th centuries)*. Leiden.
- Pisowicz A. 1985. *Origins of the New and Middle Persian phonological systems*. Kraków.
- Planché J.R. 1876. *A cyclopaedia of costume*. [vol. 1]. London.
- PLOT = Stachowski S. 1998. *Osmanlı Türkçesinde Yeni Farsça alıntılar sözlüğü / Wörterbuch der neupersischen Lehnwörter im Osmanisch-Türkischen*. İstanbul.

- Pope M.K. 1952. *From Latin to Modern French with especial consideration of Anglo-Norman*. Manchester.
- Pritsak O. 2006. The Turkic etymology of the word *qazaq* 'Cossack'. – *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 28.1/4 [= *Rus' Writ Large: Landugages, Histories, Cultures: Essays Presented in Honor of Michael S. Flier on His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*]: 237–243.
- PRS = Рубинчик Ю.А. 1977. *Персидско-русский словарь*. Москва.
- Pułaski K. (ed.). 1881. *Stosunki z Mendli-Girejem, chanem Tatarów perekopskich (1469–1515). Akta i listy*. Kraków, Warszawa.
- Radloff W. 1899. *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte*. [vol. 2]. Sankt Petersburg.
- Ramusio G.B. 1583. *Secondo volume delle navigationi et viaggi*. Venezia.
- Redhouse J.W. 1890. *A Turkish and English lexicon, shewing in English the significations of the Turkish terms*. Constantinople.
- Rentzsch J. 2011. Zum Konsonantismus in mittelaserbaischanischen Transkriptionstexten. – *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 161.2: 335–358.
- Rocchi L. 2011. On two Old Italian Turkisms (1. *cassasso* 2. *pettomagi/pettomanzi*). – *Studia Etymologica Cracoviensia* 16: 125–128.
- Rohlfs G. 1966. *Grammatica storica della lingua italiana e dei suoi dialetti*. [vol. 1]. Torino.
- Rohlfs G. 1969. *Grammatica storica della lingua italiana e dei suoi dialetti*. [vol. 3]. Torino.
- RTÖİS = Alkim U.B., Antel N., Avery R., Eckmann J., Huri S., İz F., Mansuroğlu M., Tietze A. (eds.). 2000. *Redhouse Türkçe/Osmanlıca-İngilizce Sözlük. Redhouse Turkish/Ottoman-English Dictionary*. Istanbul.
- Schweickard W. 2006. *Deonomasticon Italicum. Dizionario storico dei derivati da nomi geografici e da nomi di persona*. [vol. 2]. Tübingen.
- Seljuq A. 1976. Some notes on the origin and development of *naubat*. – *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 49.1: 141–142.
- Skeat W.W. 1910. *An etymological dictionary of the English language*. [4th edition]. Oxford.
- Srezn. = Срезневский И.И. 1893. *Материалы для словаря древнерусского языка*. [vol. 1]. Петербург.
- SRJA XI–XVII = Филин Ф.П. (ed.). 1980. *Словарь русского языка XI–XVII веков*. [7th edition]. Москва.
- SRJA XVIII = Сорокин Ю.С. (ed.). 1997. *Словарь русского языка XVIII века*. [9th edition]. Санкт-Петербург.
- Stachowski K. 2004. A Siberian word for 'pipe' and its possible Indo-European cognates. *Studia Etymologica Cracoviensia* 9: 125–132.
- Stachowski K. 2015. Phonetic adaptation of Arabic loanwords in Argenti's Ottoman Turkish (1533). [Part 2: Vowels]. – Bareja-Starzyńska A., Stanek K.B., Godzińska M., Akbike-Sulimowicz A., Szpindler M., Bojarska-Cieślak J. (eds.). *Oriental studies and arts. Contributions dedicated to Professor Tadeusz Majda on his 85th birthday*. Warszawa: 279–304.
- Stachowski S. 2015. *Słownik historyczno-etymologiczny turcyzmów w języku polskim*. Kraków.
- Stein H. 2006. Palatal-velar vocalism of Arabic-Persian loanwords in 16th-century Ottoman Turkish. – Johanson L., Bulut Ch. (eds.). 2006. *Turkic-Iranian contact areas: historical and linguistic aspects* [= *Turcologica* 62]. Wiesbaden: 143–57.

- Steingass F. 1892. *A comprehensive Persian-English dictionary*. London.
- Subtelny M.E. 2007. *Timurids in transition: Turko-Persian politics and acculturation in medieval Iran*. Leiden.
- Szuppe M. 2003. Historiography v. Timurid period. – *Encyclopædia Iranica Online*. [www.iranicaonline.org/articles/historiography-v, accessed February 8, 2017].
- TESz = Benkő L. et al. (eds.). 1970. *A magyar nyelv történeti-etimológiai szótára*. [vol. 2]. Budapest.
- Thomas A. 1906. Anc. franç. *casigan*, *-ingan*, *gasigan*, *-ingan*. – *Romania* 35: 598–601.
- Tietze A. 1967. Persian loanwords in Anatolian Turkish. – *Oriens* 20: 125–168.
- TLFi = *Le trésor de la langue française informatisé*. [atilf.atilf.fr; accessed July 20, 2016].
- TMEN = Doerfer G. 1963–1975. *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*. [vols. 1–4]. Wiesbaden.
- Tyerman C.J. 2004. Richard (fl. 1216–1222). – *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford. [www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23519; accessed February 21, 2017].
- Urbani R., Zazzu G.N. 1999. *Jews in Genoa, 507–1681*. [vol. 1]. Leiden.
- Vasmer M. 1953. *Russisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. [vol. 3]. Heidelberg.
- Veenstra J.R. 1998. *Magic and divination at the courts of Burgundy and France: Text and context of Laurens Pignon's Contre Les Devineurs (1411)*. Leiden.
- Vernay Ph. (ed.). 1980. *Maugis d'Aigremont. Chanson de geste: Édition critique avec introduction, notes et glossaire*. Berne.
- VEWT = Räsänen M. 1969. *Versuch eines etymologischen Wörterbuchs der Türk Sprachen*. Helsinki.
- Wailly N. de. (ed.). 1872. *La conquête de Constantinople par Geoffroi de Ville-Hardouin avec la continuation de Henri de Valenciennes. Texte original, accompagné d'une traduction*. Paris.
- Webster 1865 = Porter N. (ed.). 1865. *American dictionary of the English language. Revised and enlarged*. Springfield.
- Webster 1934 = Neilson W.A., Knott Th.A., Carhart P.W. (eds.). 1934. *Webster's new international dictionary of the English language*. [2nd edition]. Springfield.
- Webster 1961 = Gove P.B. (ed.). 1961. *Webster's third new international dictionary of the English language, unabridged*. Springfield, Mass.
- Wedgwood H. 1872. *A dictionary of etymology*. [2nd edition]. London.
- Weekley E. 1921. *An etymological dictionary of Modern English*. New York.
- Wehr H. 1994. *A dictionary of Modern Written Arabic (Arabic–English)*. [edited by J.M. Cowan]. Urbana.
- Wright O. 1993. Nawba. – Bosworth C.E., Van Donzel E., Heinrichs W.P., Pellat Ch. (eds.). *Encyclopaedia of Islam. New edition*. [vol. 7]. Leiden: 1042–1043.
- Wyrozumski G. (ed.). 2005. *Joannis Dlugossii, Annales seu Cronicae, incliti Regni Poloniae*. [vol. 12]. Kraków.
- Yule H., Burnell A.C. 1886. *Hobson-Jobson: A glossary of colloquial Anglo-Indian words and phrases*. London.
- Zieme P. 1997. "Silk" and "wad" in Old Turkish terminology. A case of exchange on the Silk Roads and beyond. – *Türk Dilleri Araştırmaları* 7: 149–155.

Appendix A: Per. *kazāgand*, Ar. *kazāgand* and their European descendants

Unless otherwise stated, the forms are cited on the basis of the following secondary sources: (a) Per. & Ar. – Melikian-Chirvani (1983: passim); (b) AFr. & MFr. –

Date	Fr. <i>gasygan</i> & co.	Greek	ⲛⲉⲣ
^L ₁₀	—	—	
^E ₁₁	—	—	
^L ₁₁	—	—	
^E ₁₂	—	—	
^L ₁₂	MFr. <i>casingan</i> (Ambroise, <i>L'estoire de la guerre sainte</i>)	—	

- 26 Ferdowsi began work on *Šāh-nāma* around 977 and finished on March 8, 1010 (Khaleghi-Motlagh 1999). As the exact date of composition of the relevant passage cannot be determined I adopt the date of completion as the date of composition.
- 27 Cited after Nicolle (1982: 197), who dates it to the 10th century, but this must be a printing error.
- 28 In his translation, Hitti romanizes this as *kuzāgand* (Hitti 1929: 74, n. 31), i.e. with an erroneous vowel in the first syllable.
- 29 Nicolle (1982: 197).
- 30 This form is puzzling. The original text has the pl. كازغندات (Cahen 1947–1948: 116). Cahen's edition, which is the one Melikian-Chirvani uses, romanizes this as *kāžgand* (p. 138). Because *ž* is inconsistent with *j*, I follow the latter author.

DÉAF s.v. *casigan*, *jazerenc*; (c) MGr. – LBG s.v. *καζάκας*. The primary sources are indicated in parentheses. It is only the secondary sources that are listed in the bibliography. The dating is taken from these so long as the authors provide the necessary information. Any modifications and additions are explained in the footnotes. Different occurrences in the same text are separated by the tilde.

Arabic	Persian	Date
—	<i>qazagand</i> (<i>Ḥodūd al-‘Ālam</i>)	^L ₁₀
—	<i>qazāğand</i> (Ferdowsī, <i>Šāh-nāma</i>), ²⁶ <i>qazāğand</i> (Asadī Ṭūsī, <i>Garšāsp-nāma</i>), <i>qazāğand</i> (Asadī Ṭūsī, <i>Loğat-e fors</i> ; used adjectivally in the definition of <i>qaftān</i>)	^E ₁₁
—	<i>kaftān-e qazāğand</i> (Zamahšari, <i>Muqaddimat al-‘adab</i>)	^L ₁₁
SyrAr. <i>kaḏāğand</i> (Ibn al-Ḳalanīsī, <i>Ḍayl tāriḡ Dimašk</i>) ²⁷	—	^E ₁₂
SyrAr. <i>qazāğand</i> (Usāma ibn Munqid, <i>Kitāb al-i‘tibār</i>), ²⁸ <i>qazāğand</i> (Bahā’ ad-Dīn, <i>an-Nawādir as-Sulṭāniyya wa‘l-Mahāsin al-Yūsufiyya</i>), ²⁹ <i>kāziğand</i> (Murḏā or Marḏī ibn ‘Alī al-Ṭarsūsī, <i>Tabširat arbāb al-albāb</i>) ³⁰	<i>qazāğand</i> ~ <i>qabā-ye qazāğān</i> (Nezāmī Ganjavī, <i>Šaraf-nāma</i>), ³¹ <i>qazāğand</i> (Sūzani Samarḡandi)	^L ₁₂

31 This is the first of the two parts of Nezāmī’s *Eskandar-nāma*. Melikian-Chirvani (1983: 12) dates it to “shortly after A.D. 1200”. Here I follow de Blois (1998), who says: “Both poems were clearly composed after Nezāmī’s *Leylī o Majnūn*, which contains verses giving the date of completion as Rajab 584/September–October 1188, and they were probably written before *Haft peykar*, which contains verses indicating that it was completed in Ramaẓān 593 /July–August 1197”.

32 De Wailly (1872: 310). The word is occurs once in the text, but the interpretation is problematic. DÉAF s.v. *casigan* gives two variants, *casigan* and *casigant*, based on two different editions. While I did not have access to the first edition (by J. Longnon 1948), the latter form is supported by a reference to de Wailly (1872), who nevertheless clearly prints *gasygan*. Furthermore, Gay’s (1887 1: 768) spelling is *gasingan*. It would be most

Date	Fr. <i>gasygan</i> & co.	Greek	ⲓⲁⲫ
^E ₁₃	AFr. gazygan (<i>L'histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal</i>); MFr. <i>gasygan</i> (Henri de Valenciennes <i>Henri de Constantinople</i>); ³² gasisgant (William the Clerk, <i>Roman de Fregus</i>); ³³ gasigan (× 3, <i>Maugis</i>); ³⁴ MHG kasagân (× 2, Wolfram von Eschenbach, <i>Willehalm</i>); ³⁵ MLat. casigans (<i>Itinerarium Regis Ricardi</i>) ³⁶	καζακάδων (ca. 1235), καζακάν (with the description <i>μεταξωτόν</i> 'of silk', before 1236)	
^L ₁₃	—	—	
^E ₁₄	MFr. (Bourg.) guazygan	καζακάν (ca. 1326)	
^L ₁₄	MFr. gasingan ~ gasigan (<i>Comptes de l'écurie du roi</i> , 1385); ³⁷ gasigant (<i>Archive du baron de Joursanvault</i> , 1390) ³⁸	—	
^L ₁₆	—	—	
^E ₁₇	—	—	

beneficial to be able to access the four manuscripts of the text stored at the Bibliothèque nationale de France in order to settle the matter once and for all.

33 Thomas (1906: 599). The dating of this form to the early 13th c. is an estimate based on Hunt (2004).

34 Thomas (1906: 599). The dating is supported by Vernay (1980: 56).

35 Heinzle (1994: 368, 369).

36 Melikian-Chirvani (1983: 25). The dating of this form is supported by Tyerman (2004), who gives the time frame 1216–1222.

37 Gay (1887 1: 768–769).

38 Gay (1887 1: 769).

	Arabic	Persian	Date
SyrAr.	kazāğand (Ibn al-Aṭīr, <i>al-Kāmil fī t-tārik</i>)	qazāğand (Varāvini, <i>Marzbān-nāma</i>)	E ₁₃
—	—	qazāğand (Sa'adi, <i>Golestān</i>)	L ₁₃
—	—	qazāğand (Moḥammad Nakjavānī, <i>Še-hāḥ al-fors</i>), qazākand (Šams-e Faḡri, <i>Me'yār-e Jamālī</i>)	E ₁₄
—	—	kağāğand (Salmān Sāveji, <i>Divan</i>) ³⁹	L ₁₄
—	—	qazāğand 'a garment filled with silk waste and cotton, worn at war; also called <i>xaftān</i> '	L ₁₆
—	—	kazāğand (Enjū Širāzī, <i>Farhang-e jahāngirī</i>), ⁴⁰ qazāğand (Moḥammad-Ḳāsem Sorūrī, <i>Majma' al-fors</i>), ⁴¹ kazāğand ~ kağāğand ~ qazāğand ~ qazāğang (Borhān, <i>Borhān-e qāte'</i>) ⁴²	E ₁₇

39 Melikian-Chirvani only writes "the fourteenth-century poet". Salmān died in 1376 (Morrison 1981: 67).

40 The lexicon was compiled between 1595 and 1608, according to Bayevsky (1999a).

41 The first edition was compiled around 1600 whereas the second, influenced by *Farhang-e jahāngirī* around 1618 (Bayevsky 1999b). Thus, it must be the latter that Melikian-Chirvani is referring to when he writes that it was compiled a generation after Širāzī's work.

42 Two comments are in order. Borhān apparently provides as many as nine variants, of which Melikian-Chirvani (1983: 11) sadly cites only the four included in our chart. Furthermore, the variant ending in *ng* is quoted twice as *qazāğang* (pp. 11 and 25)

Appendix B: Pre-1600 occurrences of Tk. *ķazak*, its European reflexes and ‘cassock’

With the exception of the three 14th c. occurrences, the forms are listed according to the decade in which they are attested. Within a given decade, the forms are listed chronologically, with a more precise date provided in parentheses. If an interval rather than a precise date is available, the relevant form is listed according to the terminus ad quem. Unless otherwise stated, the dates, the forms and – when available – the glosses and/or quotations are cited on the basis of

Date	‘cassock’ (military)	‘cassock’ (non-military)	
14 th c.		—	
1410s	—	?Fr. <i>casaque</i> ‘piece of clothing with wide sleeves’ (1413)	
1420s	—	—	

and once as *gazāgang* (p. 11). I take the latter to be a misspelling and disregard it for three reasons: (1) no other source I was able to consult even alludes to the existence of a Persian variant beginning in *g*; (2) when Melikian-Chirvani discusses the voicing of Per. word-initial *k* in Anatolian Turkish dialects (see above), he presents it as a purely Turkish phenomenon, although it would be natural to invoke a Persian form beginning in *g* at this point, if only such a form (had) existed; (3) the problematic form appears in the following context “[t]he variant *gazāgang* recorded by Borhān (above p. 11 [sic! – M.U.])”, with the reference in parentheses clearly alluding to *qazāgang* on the same page.

43 Hrushevsky (1999: 60).

44 Cited in the Codex Comanicus as a term corresponding to MLat. <guayta> and Per. <naobat> (Drimba 2000: 101). The date 1294/95 is supported by Pritsak (2006: 238,

the following sources: Čag – Lee (2015: *passim*); Eng. – OED3; Fr. (and Occ.) *casaque* – FEW II: 562; Fr. *cosaque* – Buchi (1996: 212); It. – Schweickard (2006: 592ff); Ott. – Lee (2015: *passim*); Per. – Lee (2015: *passim*); Pol. – Stachowski S. (2015: 354ff); Ru. – SRJa XI–XVII: 15; Ukr. – Kołodziejczyk (2011: *passim*). The glosses have been translated into English. If the gloss indicates any military connection, the form is included under 'cassock' (military). Otherwise the form is classified as an example of non-military usage. A superscript question mark before a language name indicates an attestation whose status is questionable (see section 4.2 of the main text).

780	'Cossack'	Tkc. <i>қазақ</i> & co.	Date
?Gr. (Sudak, Crimea) <i>καζάκων</i> (pl.) (1308) ⁴³		?MKipč. <ghasal Cofac> (1294/95 or 1303 or 1330), ⁴⁴ MKipč. <i>қазақ</i> 'freed, free' (1343) ⁴⁵	14 th c.
—		Per. <i>қадāқ</i> ~ <i>қазāқ</i> (bef. 1412) ⁴⁶	1410s
—		Per. <i>hazāra-ye қадāқ</i> prob. 'a renegade unit of 1,000 soldiers' (1425), MKipč. <i>қазақ баши</i> 'single, bachelor' (bef. 1426) ⁴⁷	1420s

based on György Györfly's claims), 1303 is the traditional reading of the date found in the manuscript (MacKenzie 1992), whereas 1330 is the new interpretation thereof (Drimba 1981: 396). See the article by Drimba for an informative overview of the different attempts at dating the Codex.

- 45 Golden (2009: 117, n. 68). I adopt the dating of *Kitāb tarğumān turkī wa-ʿarabī wa-muğālī* established in Flemming (1968). Houtsma (1894: 2; followed by Pritsak 2006: 238) gives 1245 as the date of compilation. His translation of the word as 'Landstreicher' (p. 86) does not correspond to the actual Arabic gloss *al-mujarrad* 'freed, free; sole'.
- 46 I follow Doerfer's (TMEN 3: 463) dating rather than Lee's (2015: 26–27).
- 47 Golden (2009: 117, n. 68), who writes "mid-fourteenth century". I adopt Ermers's (1999: 29) more conservative dating of the *Kitāb at-tuhfa az-zakiyya fi l-luğa at-turkiyya* based on the date suggested by the manuscript itself.

Date	'cassock' (military)	'cassock' (non-military)	car
1430s	—	—	
1440s	—	—	
1450s	—	Occ. <i>cassequa</i> 'a knee-length overcoat without a belt, with short and broad sleeves, leaving the forearm uncovered' (1450)	
1460s	—	—	
1470s	Lat. (Liguria) <i>casaca</i> 'old military clothing to be worn under armour' (1472) ⁵¹	—	
1480s	Lat. (Italy) <i>casacha</i> 'old military clothing to be worn under armour' (as worn by the <i>stradioti</i>) (1484), ⁵² It. <i>casache</i> 'military clothing' (1484) ⁵⁴	It. <i>casacca</i> 'honorific dress' (1480), ⁵⁵ It. <i>casacha</i> 'a wide, comfortable coat' (1480), It. <i>casacha</i> 'a wide, comfortable coat' (1482)	
1490s	<i>casàcche</i> 'military clothing' (as worn by the <i>stradioti</i>) (1495) ⁵⁷	It. <i>casacca</i> 'a wide, comfortable coat'	

48 Hrushevsky (1999: 60).

49 In J. Długosz's *Annales*; cited after Wyrozumski's edition (2005: 443).

50 Lee (2015: 27) does not date the quotation. The relevant passage occurs in the second part of 'Abd-al-Razzāq's chronicle *Maṭla'-e sa'dayn va majma'-e baḥrayn* and I follow Haase's (1982) dating.

51 Schweickard (2006: 592).

52 Hrushevsky (1999: 61).

53 Cf. "Concedatur insuper capitibus et Stratiotis predictis extrahendi ex haec civitate sine solutione datis pannos pro eorum casachis et vestimentis" (Schweickard 2006: 592, n. 1).

54 Cortelazzo (1957: 37). He gives the following quotation "gente è bellicosa, più atta a dar assalti all'improvvisa che a combater ordenadamente; porta l'elmo in testa, la spada

60	'Cossack'	Tkc. <i>қазақ</i> & co.	Date
	—	—	1430s
	Ru. <i>казак</i> 'a representative of an independent warlike community with their own self-government' (1445), Lat. (Kaffa, Crimea) <i>casachos</i> (1449) ⁴⁸	—	1440s
	—	—	1450s
	Lat. (Poland) <i>Kozakos</i> (1469) ⁴⁹	Per. <i>қазāқ</i> 'political vagabond, freebooter' (1469–1470) ⁵⁰	1460s
	Lat. (Kaffa, Crimea) <i>cosachos</i> (1474) ⁵²	—	1470s
	Ru. <i>казакъ</i> 'free person, not paying taxes and self-employed, farmhand' (1485) ⁵⁶	—	1480s
	Ru. <i>казак</i> 'a light-armed warrior of a lower rank in the Tatar army' (1492), ⁵⁸ Ru. <i>козак</i> 'steppe traders' (1499) ⁵⁹	—	1490s

a lato, e la lanza in man; pochi usa la coraza; veste habiti de bombaso, assetai a la vita, che se chiama casache.”

55 Cortelazzo (1957: 37).

56 The date 1485 is a correction of Sreznevskij's 1395 (Srezn.: 1173).

57 The exact passage is “Stratioti sono greci, vestiti con casacche et cappelli in capo” (Schweickard 2006: 592).

58 Another reference in the same year appears in a letter from Grand Duke Alexander to Mengli Giray, the Crimean khan, dated to December 19. The text is available in a late-18th-century copy in Latin script of the Ruthenian original published by Pułaski (1881: 223).

59 AZR: 194; also in Hrushevsky (1999: 63).

Date	'cassock' (military)	'cassock' (non-military)	OS
1500s	It. <i>casache</i> 'old military clothing to be worn under armour' (as worn by the <i>stradioti</i>) (ca. 1500), ⁶⁰ It. <i>cassacha</i> 'old military clothing to be worn under armour' (1504)	Fr. <i>casaquin</i> 'outer garment worn by men' (ca. 1500) ⁶¹	
1510s	—	—	
1517	—	—	
1520s	—	—	
1530s	Fr. <i>casaque</i> 'military clothing' (1534)	It. <i>casaza</i> 'a wide, comfortable coat' (1532), It. <i>casacca</i> 'a wide, comfortable coat' (ca. 1535), Fr. <i>cazacque</i> ~ <i>casacque</i> 'a kind of overcoat without a belt, extending to the knee, with short and wide sleeves, split and leaving the forearm uncovered' (1536) ⁶²	

60 The exact quotation is "Questa gente [scil. gli stradioti] veste habiti de bombaso, assetai a la vita, che se chiama casache" (Schweickard 2006: 592).

61 DMF s.v. *casaquin*.

62 Lee (2015: 33–34) does not provide a precise date. I follow Achmedov (1965: 20).

63 Lee (2015: 44).

64 Subtelny (2007: 55, n. 60).

65 Lee (2015: 29–30) does not provide the date. Doerfer's (TMEN 3: 462) cites the same text and I follow his dating of *Bābur-nāma* (TMEN 1: x11).

№	'Cossack'	Tkc. <i>қазақ</i> & co.	Date
	—	Çag. <i>қазақлық</i> 'political vagabondage' (bef. 1505) ⁶²	1500s
	Ukr. <i>козак</i> (1514), Lat. (Poland) <i>Kazaci</i> 'freebooters' (1517), ⁶³ Ukr. <i>казак</i> (1517)	—	1510s
		—	1517
	Ukr. <i>казак</i> ~ <i>козак</i> (1520)	Ott. <i>қазақ</i> 'outcast, runaway' (ca. 1521), Çag. <i>қазақ</i> 'political vagabond' (1525), ⁶⁴ Çag. <i>қазақ</i> 'political vagabond', <i>қазақлық</i> 'political vagabondage; raids or guerrilla warfare' (bef. 1529) ⁶⁵	1520s
	Hung. <i>kozák</i> 'free Slavic peasant living in a military organization (esp. one who served in cavalry)' (1530), ⁶⁷ Ukr. <i>козак</i> (1532), Pol. <i>Kozak</i> 'a light-armed guerrilla, also a mercenary recruited among the inhabitants of the historical Ukraine' (1533), Pol. <i>kozak</i> 'a robber, a plunderer, a brigand; a mercenary' (1535), <i>Kozaci</i> 'inhabitants of the historical Ukraine, member of a warlike community who lives off plundering raids into the Turkish territory' (1535); Ukr. <i>козак</i> (*8) (1535), Ru. <i>казаки</i> 'vagabonds' (1538), ⁶⁸ Pol. <i>kozacy</i> (1539) ⁶⁹	Çag. <i>қазақ</i> 'political vagabondage' (bef. 1534 or 1535) ⁷⁰	1530s

66 Gay (1882 1: 287).

67 TESz (599).

68 Lee (2015: 77).

69 Kołodziejczyk (2011: 716).

70 TMEN (vol. 3: 462). Doerfer does not date the text, i.e. *Şaybāni-nāma*. He only writes that it reports on the years 1499–1506 (TMEN 1: xxxvii). The author, Moḥammad-Şāleḥ, died in 1534 or 1535 (Szuppe 2003).

71 Gay (1887 1: 287).

Date	'cassock' (military)	'cassock' (non-military)	REF
1540s	Fr. <i>casacquin</i> 'civil or military costume, shorter than the casaque' (1549) ⁷¹	It. <i>casaccha</i> 'a wide, comfortable coat' (1545), <i>casacchétta</i> 'a small casacca' (1545), Fr. <i>casacquin</i> 'a small casaque, esp. as worn by men' (1546)	
1550s	It. <i>casaca</i> 'old military clothing to be worn under armour' (1559)	It. <i>casacca</i> 'a wide, comfortable coat' (1550), Eng. <i>cassoc</i> 'a kind of long loose coat or gown as worn by women' (ca. 1550), Eng. <i>cassocks</i> 'a kind of long loose coat or gown as worn by women' (aft. 1556), Fr. <i>cazaque</i> 'a kind of overcoat without a belt, extending to the knee, with short and wide sleeves, split and leaving the forearm uncovered' (1557), ⁷³ Fr. <i>caisacquin</i> 'a small casaque, esp. as worn by men' (1557)	
1560s	Fr. <i>casequin</i> ~ <i>quasaquin</i> 'civil or military costume, shorter than the casaque' (1564) ⁷⁵	It. <i>casacca</i> 'a wide, comfortable coat' (1565)	
1570s	Eng. <i>cassocke</i> (× 2) 'a cloak or long coat worn by some soldiers in 16–17 th c.; also that of a horseman or rider in the 17 th c.' (1574)	It. <i>casaca</i> 'a wide, comfortable coat' (ca. 1570), Fr. <i>casaque</i> 'a kind of overcoat without a belt, extending to the knee, with short and wide sleeves, split and leaving the forearm uncovered' (1571), ⁷⁶ Cat. <i>casaca</i> (1577), ⁷⁷ Ger. <i>Kasacke</i> (1579) ⁷⁸	

72 Lee (2015: 78).

73 Gay (1887 1: 287).

74 Lee (2015: 39) does not provide the year. The date 1553 appears in the manuscript of the relevant work, i.e. Remmāl Hoca's *Tārīḥ-i Şāhib Girāy Hān* (İnalçık 1979–80: 1, n. 1).

75 Gay (1887 1: 287).

60	'Cossack'	Tkc. <i>қазақ</i> & co.	Date
	Pol. <i>kozacki</i> 'belonging or pertaining to a Cossack' (1545), Ru. <i>казаки</i> 'a light-armed warrior of a lower rank in the Tatar army' (1546), Pol. <i>kazak</i> 'Tatars settled in the area of Bilhorod, Ochakiv and Zaporizhia' (1500–1547), Ru. <i>каза-кь</i> 'a free person, not paying taxes and self-employed, farmhand' (1548), Ru. <i>казаки</i> 'vagabonds' (1549) ⁷²	Per. <i>kazāk</i> 'political vagabond' (1546)	1540s
	It. <i>cosazkij</i> 'an ancient population of the Tartar race that settled in the steppes of southern Russia' (1550), Ru. <i>казаки</i> 'a serviceman in the border guard' (1551), Ukr. <i>козак</i> (×10) (1552), Ru. <i>козаки</i> 'a free person, not paying taxes and self-employed, farmhand' (1555), Pol. <i>Kozactwo</i> (coll.) (1558)	Čag. <i>қазақ</i> 'a freebooter' (1550s), Ott. <i>қазақ</i> 'wandering nomad' (1553) ⁷⁴	1550s
	Pol. <i>kozakować</i> 'to live a Cossack life or serve as a mercenary in the borderland, to wage war on the Tatars' (1562), Pol. <i>Kozactwo</i> (coll.) (1564)	—	1560s
	Pol. <i>Kozactwo</i> (coll.) (1572), It. <i>cosacchi</i> (1575), ⁷⁹ Fr. <i>cosaque</i> , <i>cozacque</i> 'a war-like nomad of the steppe of southern Russia' (1578), Pol. <i>Kozak</i> , <i>Kazak</i> (1578)	—	1570s

76 Gay (1887 1: 287).

77 DCECH (p. 903).

78 Jones (1976: 186).

79 Folea (1956: 46).

80 Fennis (1995: 506).

Date	'cassock' (military)	'cassock' (non-military)	OS ⁸¹
1580s	—	Fr. <i>cazaque</i> 'a kind of overcoat without a belt, extending to the knee, with short and wide sleeves, split and leaving the forearm uncovered' (1586), ⁸⁰ Eng. <i>cassocke coats</i> (1587), Eng. <i>cassock</i> 'a kind of long loose coat or gown as worn by women' (1589)	
1590s		Eng. <i>cassocke</i> 'a kind of long loose coat or gown as worn by women or men' (1590), Eng. <i>cassock</i> 'a kind of long loose coat or gown as worn by men: mentioned as worn by rustics, shepherds, sailors; also by usurers, poor scholars' (1598), Ger. <i>Casacken</i> (dat. sg.) (1598), ⁸² It. <i>casacchino</i> 'a female overcoat; a knitted jacket' (1598)	

81 Ramusio (1583: 70r–79v); glosses from Schweickard (2006: 593). The latter two forms are most likely due to the similarity between handwritten capital *k* and *r*.

82 Jones (1976: 186).

60	'Cossack'	Tkc. <i>қазақ</i> & co.	Date
	Fr. <i>cazaque</i> 'a warlike nomad of the steppe of southern Russia' (1583), It. <i>Cosczkinese, Cozaski, Cossanesi, Kazaka, Razak, Razaci</i> 'an ancient population of the Tartar race that settled in the steppes of southern Russia; Turco-Mongol population settled in Kazakhstan' (1583), ⁸¹ It. <i>kazako</i> adj. 'del Kazakistan, relativo ai kazaki' (1583), Fr. <i>casaque</i> 'a warlike nomad of the steppe of southern Russia' (1584), Ru. <i>каза́чок</i> (dimin.) 'farmhand' (1584), Eng. <i>cassocke</i> 'a warlike Turkish people now subject to Russia, occupying the parts north of the Black Sea' (1587), Fr. <i>caussaques</i> 'a warlike nomad of the steppe of southern Russia' (1588)	—	1580s
	It. <i>cassachi</i> 'foot soldiers or cavalry; robbers' (1594), Ru. <i>казаковать</i> 'to live a free Cossack's life, to wander, to lead a nomadic life; to make fearless raids' (1594), It. <i>casachi</i> 'Turco-Mongol population settled in Kazakhstan' (1595), Pol. <i>Kozactwo</i> (coll.) (1596), Ru. <i>каза́чество</i> (coll.) (1596), Ru. <i>коза́чий</i> (adj.) (1596)	—	1590s

